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372 Fire.—For several generations the *Chiriguano* and *Chané* have used steel and flint for making fire. The fire drill is, however, remembered in their mythology.

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411 Weapons.—The *Chiriguano* bow has an average length of 4 feet (1.2 m.); the stave is flat on the belly and convex on the back. Both ends are sharpened to prevent the string of twisted hide from slipping.

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[223] Arrows are tipped with carefully barbed rods, with two rods barbed along the outer edges, (fig. 59, b) with flat lanceolate heads, or with a conical knob (bird arrow). The arrows armed with two diverging rods are used to shoot large birds, such as the yacu (*Penelope* sp.). Fishing arrows of the *Chané* bristle with cactus thorns. Today arrows ending in a sharp wooden rod are rare, as the modern arrows are usually tipped with heavy wires. The shafts are made of cultivated reeds (*Arundo donax*). Formerly, the *Chané* used the uva grass (*Gynerium sagittatum*). Feathering, which is of the cemented type, is sometimes omitted.

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[824] The clubs of the *Chiriguano* in the 17th century were short and ended in a flat, oval head, a shape somewhat related to the ancient *Tupinamba* club. These clubs have disappeared (only a single specimen could be obtained in 1929 by Métraux) and have been replaced by simple cudgels that serve only to knock down wild pigs.

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[171]
[178] *Chiriguano* in direct contact with the *Quechua* have woolen slings; those living farther to the east have slings made of caraguatá fibers, which they use mainly to chase birds from the fields. The pellet bow is common among the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, but is merely a toy for boys.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

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[411]
[524] Originally, the *Chiriguano* community consisted of a few extended families or lineages, strictly patrilineal. Modern villages are composed of many small biological families bound by relationship ties or by their allegiance to a common chief.

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594 *Chiriguano* chiefs (*mburubicha*) of old were men distinguished by their courage, their eloquence, and often by their magic power. They enjoyed considerable prestige and held no little authority. Some of them (*tubicha rubicha*) extended their influence over a wide area and were recognized as a supreme chief by the local chieftains. The main function of a chief was to settle quarrels within the village, to punish thieves, to see that people worked in the fields at the proper time, to arrange feasts, and to lead his men in war. Chiefs also had right of eminent domain over the land. Sometimes a chief was assisted by an informal council consisting of shamans and of the oldest and bravest men of the community. As a rule, a chief, even if he was powerful, led the same type of life as any of his subjects; in recent time some chiefs had servants. Some aristocratic pride was evidenced by the members of their family.

/231 cont./

One cannot speak here of rich and poor in the same village, though there is the beginning of a nobility. On the other hand, there are rich and poor villages. There are relatively wealthy individual Indians, but they, like Taco, live like the whites.

The chief is the judge and in former times was the leader of the fighting men.

Vocapoy told me murder was punished by sentencing the murderer to work up to half a year for the family of the one slain. A thief gets up to 50 lashes and is sent to another village so that he will not be killed. According to Vocapoy, it is the duty of the chief to prevent blood revenge by sending away the offenders so that they will not be murdered. The murder of father, mother, or child is, according to his assertions, unknown in his region.

According to Batirayu, whose statements are more reliable than those of /232/ Vocapoy, the high chief of the Chané on the Rio Parapiti deals with no offenses other than murder, seduction of another woman, and bewitchment. Murder with poisoned chicha, "bád-dyási," occurred in former times among the Chané. Murderer and bewitcher were burned. The seducer of a woman was deprived of all his possessions. For the rest, theft and other offenses were settled by means of duels. If a person stole something, the injured one and the thief called their relatives together, and they fought on the open plaza in the village.

The administrative authorities of the whites are now intervening more and more in the legal affairs of the Indians.

In war with other tribes the chief gives the orders, as they did in the uprisings of the Indians against the whites.

According to Vocapoy, the chief owns the land for the tribe. Batirayu said the land rights are arranged so that everyone plants what he wishes. Land that has been cultivated has its owner, even if it has lain fallow for years.



Fig. 115. Calabash.
Chiriguano. Itapentia. 1/6.

/86 cont./

The inequalities which formerly existed between the class of the Chiriguano themselves and the class of their subjects, which was for the most part made up of Chané, is no longer important today, since the latter were emancipated at the end of the last century, and they again have their own great caciques and ordinary caciques. Beyond the fact that the family to which the caciques belong has a certain preference (332) today, scarcely

332. Nord. 1, p. 230.

any difference exists today among the members of the same Chiriguano community with respect to their economy. But such a difference indeed exists among the various communities themselves, depending on the conditions of production in the different places. Also today, since the emancipation of the Chané, the work is distributed, more or less equally among the members of the community of the same sex. The great cacique and his wife take part in communal labor. Only a few Indians are exempt from this rule, and they are those who have accommodated themselves to the modern situation and send members of their own tribe to work as servants (333).

333. Nord. 1, p. 231.

Inequality of practical importance exists almost solely between the two sexes, and especially with regard to the distribution of labor. With regard to the supplying of /87/ necessities, this inequality between the sexes does not appear, but only in the fact that the men and the women eat apart and the men in general eat first and women and children later (334). Nordenskiöld has

334. Nord. 1, p. 189.

made up an exact scheme of the distribution of labor between men and women (335) /there is no footnote bearing this number/. According to this scheme, the following work is apportioned only to men: hunting, planting and clearing, woodworking, twisting